The War Against the U. N.—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE Nation

November 22, 1952

ELECTION KALEIDOSCOPE

The Midwest: Confused and Quixotic

BY SAMUEL J. ELDERSVELD

The South: Changing and Rebellious

BY WILLIAM G. CARLETON

New England: Mixed Results

BY JAMES M. BURNS and PHILIP K. HASTINGS

London and Paris: Second Thoughts

BY ANDREW ROTH and ALEXANDER WERTH

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Jim Crow in Oregon

Sutherlin, Oregon

THREE years ago in Los Angeles, Jack Wright, a white man, married Mary Dews, a Negro. Jack developed chest trouble, and late in 1951 the couple moved to Jack's boyhood home, Bandon, Oregon. "There," says Mary, "everybody treated us wonderfully. When we left they showered us with presents. We should have liked to stay forever."

They left because the dampness on the coast was playing havoc with Jack's chest. With no particular destination in mind they drove east, looking for a town with a dry climate. The first night they reached Sutherlin, a town of 3,000, a shopping center for the surrounding farms and sawmills at the southern tip of the Willamette Valley. "We had no intention of settling down there," Wright says. "It was night and we just wanted to stay until morning."

Two motels turned them down. "I had a place engaged," Jack Wright says, "but when the woman manager came out and saw Mary she screamed bloody murder. 'How dare you! You know this is a place for whites only!'" When they tried to buy food, three groceries contemptuously refused them.

"That night," Mrs. Wright recalls, "was the most horrible of my whole life. We drove a little way out of town and parked off the road and made a bed in a ditch. A whole bunch of people started toward us swearing and calling us filthy names. They threatened to run us out of town. They said we couldn't stop in Sutherlin."

Jack Wright was an ironmolder who had been through some of the bloodiest labor struggles in California, but he felt his last hour had come. "When they started to close in, I got my hand ax out and I told Mary, 'I'll die for you, but I'll be damned if they run us out of town.'" "If the people had been halfway decent," he continued, sticking out his determined jaw, "we never would have thought of stopping. I know there are towns in Oregon that don't let a Negro stay overnight. But I was damn' mad. We decided to stay."

The next morning they looked around and found a store willing to sell them groceries. In the afternoon Jack went in search of a job and found one at a small forge. The owner had heart trouble and was glad to get an experienced metalworker.

Unable to rent a house, the Wrights decided to build one. They made a down payment on a lot, but under pressure from some leading citizens the owner canceled the sale. Undaunted, they made a payment on another lot and started construction of a house. Until Jack Wright had laid the floor, he and his wife slept on the ground.

In the meantime a young Negro, Willie Carter, had come to town and found a job at the foundry. "He was the first Negro ever to work in Sutherlin," said Wright. "That showed progress." The Wrights emptied the tiny trailer in which they had carried their belongings and made a place for Carter to sleep.

The sniping from the townspeople continued. When Mary Wright went shopping, women turned to stare at her and muttered about her character. The Wrights' neighbors scolded their children for being friendly to the newcomers. Their closest neighbor still turns his back on them, though his collie romps with their black puppy.

Some people in the town mumble about violence or say that the sheriff ought to "do something," but the united front of prejudice has been broken. A real-estate broker, an elderly woman, told a white railroad worker who had come down from Portland to lend the Wrights a helping hand, "It's nobody's business who marries who. That's between them and God. I wish the troublemakers would keep their noses out of things that don't concern them."

Word of the Wrights' struggle has spread through Oregon. Last Sunday six University of Oregon students and five Negro railroad workers and their wives gathered at the Wrights' house with tools, helped raise the sides and roof, cleaned up the lot, and dug a new trough for the outhouse. The townspeople and farmers who drove past gaped at the sight of whites and Negroes working, laughing, talking, and singing together. Mrs. Wright fought hard to keep the tears back. "This is the most beautiful thing I have ever seen!" she exclaimed. "Oh, how good you've made me feel!"

At lunch time a university student briefly addressed the group. "We have gathered here," he said, "to help build a house for Jack and Mary Wright, an interracial unit of mankind. But in a larger sense we are building a home for all of us. Working together, building together for a common cause, for the best ideals of mankind, we are constructing the foundation for a temple of democracy, a temple to be inhabited by all American mankind."

The long rains will come to Oregon soon, and only a few scattered parties from nearby towns like Roseburg and Grant's Pass and Eugene are expected to go to Sutherlin to help the Wrights. But in the spring there will be a garden to dig and plant, a road to build, a house to paint, and a garage to put up. Longshoremen from Coos Bay, loggers from the fir forests, railroad workers, college professors, students, clerks, and housewives will gather to do what is necessary. And Sutherlin will learn that people like the Wrights have friends everywhere.

If any readers of *The Nation* in western Oregon want to drive a nail into Jim Crow's coffin, there's a hammer handy at Sutherlin.

RALPH FRIEDMAN

[*Ralph Friedman is a West Coast free-lance writer.*]

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 175 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 22, 1952 NUMBER 21

The War Against the U. N.

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE significance of Abe Feller's suicide is not yet fully realized; its effect has been cushioned and delayed by shock and by a natural desire on the part of his associates to find meanings which can be accepted without too much pain. The statement of Trygve Lie, immediately after Mr. Feller's death, attributed the tragedy to the "prolonged and serious strain" under which he had been placed by his tireless efforts "to uphold due process . . . against indiscriminate smears and exaggerated charges." This gave a hint of the truth, while at the same time raising the inevitable question whether if Mr. Lie had spoken as forthrightly weeks or months earlier his general counsel would have fallen into the total despair that alone leads men to take their lives. And it raises the further question whether the most intense effort even under adverse circumstances would have proved insupportable if it had been sustained by hope and a fighting spirit.

Why did these fail in the case of Abe Feller? Dr. Ralph Bunche, head of the Trusteeship Department, came closer to the truth when, in a speech at Philadelphia eulogizing his dead colleague, he denounced pressures brought to bear on the United Nations by persons unable to understand that an international body cannot serve the "exclusively national interests" of any member state. "American pressures . . . come from many directions," he said, "the most recent being the investigations into alleged subversive associations of certain American members of the staff." But even this comment misses an important part of the meaning of Abe Feller's death. In our belief the reason that devoted, highly intelligent public servant killed himself is to be found in the corroding combination of big-power domination, external attack, and inner weakness which is fast reducing the United Nations to a condition of permanent stalemate on the great political issues that will decide, in the end, the all-encompassing issue of peace or war. Thus it would be too much—and too little—to say that the savage vendetta led by Senator McCarran was the only cause of the U. N. official's death.

Undoubtedly a profound source of anguish for Feller was the Korean impasse produced by Communist intransigence on the one hand and on the other by the determination of the United States to prevent even the discussion of compromise proposals aimed at breaking the prisoner-of-war deadlock—or at least putting Communist intentions to the test. The basic purpose of the organization, which is to substitute negotiation for a contest of power, has been ground to dust by nationalist and ideological rivalries. And these rivalries in turn have been amplified and broadcast by individuals and groups who have made the United Nations the whipping boy not only for the Communists but, heaven save the mark, for the "soft internationalists" who are supposed to be in charge of the State and Defense departments under Mr. Truman. This campaign, reported week by week in these pages, has recently hit a new high pitch. Though we are convinced it has relatively small popular backing, its momentum has undoubtedly been increased by General Eisenhower's election, little as he may approve of it. Joint product of jingoism and McCarthyism, the war against the U. N. finds in the current McCarran purge only its most spectacularly lawless by-product.

BUT external attack, no matter how brutal and unjust, would not drive a man to suicide or demoralize a great institution. In fact it might create a reaction of healthy anger and resistance. That it has not done so in the case of the United Nations is due to internal weakness deriving partly from the terrible disbalance of power between the United States and all the other nations and partly from the inadequacy of the Secretary General himself. The failure of Mr. Lie to defend his secretariat against "indiscriminate smears and exaggerated charges" was only a single instance of his incapacity to defend the organization against the pressures of big-power—particularly American—interests. Hard as it must be to stand up against the demands of Washington, a strong Secretary General would surely have refused to enter into a secret "pact" with the State Department under which he agreed not to employ any American citizen who was, or ap-

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1952, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

peared to be, a Communist. Such subservience inevitably lowered the morale of the whole institution, creating a state of affairs in which not one staff member or, for that matter, a single member nation dared expose and denounce this flagrant violation of the U. N. Charter.

We have no doubt that Abe Feller, as general counsel, tried desperately to substitute decent legal procedures for such miserable capitulations. Loyal to the United States and to the United Nations, he rejected as long as possible any imputation that the staff was under threat or surveillance, or that the Administration in Washington would violate the sovereignty of the U. N. He held fast to the belief that proper procedures would themselves afford the safeguards necessary to prevent injustice to persons or the institution. That his faith was ill-founded had been proved long before Senator McCarran appeared on the scene. Summary dismissals by the Secretary General had been contested by the victims, and last August an Administrative Tribunal, sitting in Geneva, rejected Mr. Lie's contention that he had the authority to drop employees without giving reasons. The struggle for independence and the rights of staff members was an old and bitter story. (See For a Free United Nations, by J. A. del Vayo, October 11, 1952.)

The fact is, there never was a chance to resist by legal measures alone the many-sided assault on the independence of the U. N. For the attack is basically political, and resistance to it must also be political if it is to have any hope of success. It can be argued, indeed, that Mr. Lie's abrupt resignation was a tacit acknowledgment of that fact, and so in a different sense was his appointment of three eminent lawyers to look into the problem posed by the current witch hunt. Writing last Saturday in the New York *Times*, Thomas J. Hamilton reported that the Secretary General had asked these men, not for "a mere legal opinion," but for "their advice on broad questions of policy: specifically, should the administration of the United Nations fly in the face of the national opinion of important members [meaning the United States] on important questions."

The assignment is a ticklish one, for it goes to the very heart of the problem symbolized by the death of Abe Feller. No one so far has stated it better than Mr. Feller's friend, Telford Taylor, former brigadier general and Chief Counsel for War Crimes in the Office of Military Government. In an eloquent, angry letter to the *Times* last Sunday Mr. Taylor wrote:

> If, indeed, Mr. Lie rightly diagnosed the disease, Abe Feller was the victim not of his own fears but of the fears of others that kept them silent. The United Nations, which had become the core of his professional life, has been under bitter and ruthless attack for several weeks. During that time what voice has been raised to say that the United Nations is the creature and vehicle of all the nations, not of those alone that share our political heritage? To remind us that employees of the United

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Nations, under the Charter that we ourselves ratified, are not delegates from the countries of their own nationality but are an international staff? To point out that the notion of political conformity within this staff can, and surely will, be applied to the grave disadvantage of the democratic cause? . . . The history of the twentieth century is already studded with the names of republics, regimes, and Reichs that succumbed to a failure of leadership. It is high time that many strong voices be lifted in the name of sanity and dignity. Only thus can Abe Feller's tragic act of self-destruction be redeemed and transfigured.

If the United Nations is to live, the complex meaning of Abe Feller's death must be understood—and acted upon—by the U. N. itself, especially in its choice of a new Secretary General; by the United States; and, perhaps most of all, by the other nations of the world, which have permitted their common institutions to become the helpless victim of power politics.

The Shape of Things

Setback for Malan

Once again, South Africa's highest judicial authority, the Appeal Court, has justified its long-held reputation for integrity and independence. Unanimously, it has condemned the attempt by the Malan government to circumvent the constitution by creating a High Court of Parliament, consisting of Parliament's whole membership, with power to pass on constitutional issues by simple majority vote. As Justice C. P. van den Heever remarked caustically: "No legislative organ can perform an act of levitation and lift itself above its own powers by bootstrap methods."

The government's purpose in essaying this feat was to legalize the Voters' Act, which removes voters of mixed blood from the common electoral roll and segregates them in separate constituencies—a form of gerrymandering calculated to add two or three members to the precarious Malanite majority. Previously the courts had found that this act destroyed one of the "intrenched provisions" of the constitution, which can be changed only by a two-thirds' majority of both houses of Parliament. Now they have again thwarted the government's effort to bypass their authority.

Despite pressure from extremists, the government has decided not to defy the court but to seek a new mandate at a general election held on the basis of the existing franchise. The disadvantage of this course, from the point of view of the Nationalist Party, is that at best the voting will produce less than the two-thirds' majority required to end the deadlock, while at worst, if the opposition puts up a united front, it could lead to the government's defeat.

But Racial Tension Grows

Meanwhile the government is resisting demands for an inquiry into recent riots in four different cities that have caused the death of thirty-four natives and six whites. There is no direct connection between these outbreaks and the campaign against discrimination organized by the National Action Committee on behalf of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. That campaign depends on non-violent methods: its participants deliberately break "Jim Crow" laws, making no attempt to resist arrest.

Yet, inevitably, this passive-resistance movement, and the harsh measures adopted by the government to break it, have greatly increased racial tension and so helped to create an atmosphere in which mob violence occurs. Moreover, as the influential Johannesburg *Star* has pointed out, "there is already some evidence that the government has aggravated the situation." Certainly the police have shown a tendency to use their guns at the first sign of disorder.

In fact, the government's handling of the trouble arouses suspicion that it rather welcomes disturbances, since these afford it an opportunity to solve its electoral dilemma by raising a cry for "white unity." "There have been," notes the London *Times* of November 14, "lamentable whispers of a coalition in a 'white front' to resist African encroachment. Nothing could do the Union more harm in a world where her policies are rapidly isolating her from liberal opinion." And, we might add, nothing would be more likely to insure the ultimate destruction of the white South African minority.

Franco Spain in UNESCO?

The seventh general conference of UNESCO, now in progress in Paris, faces a stormy debate over the admission of Spain. A recommendation that Spain be accepted as a new member of UNESCO was approved by a majority of the Economic and Social Council at its last meeting in New York against the opposition of Uruguay, Mexico, and several other countries. Since then an impressive movement of protest has developed, enlisting many distinguished figures of the literary and artistic world. Albert Camus resigned his post in UNESCO in a letter indignantly condemning the idea. Jean-Paul Sartre has expressed his opposition, and even François Mauriac, the noted Catholic writer, who last week was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, called the proposal "an insult to the mind." In London, Brussels, and Oslo, groups and individuals of all political shades have joined in the protest. A letter to UNESCO by Pablo Casals, the great cellist, announced that if the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council were ratified, he would resign the honorary chairmanship of the Music Section of UNESCO.

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In view of this mounting opposition the conference has decided to postpone discussion of the issue until next week. The feeling aroused indicates again how live the Spanish issue remains, fourteen years after the end of the Spanish war, and also how much more difficult it is to carry out decisions contrary to the spirit of the United Nations in Europe than in New York.

Deflation Ahead?

During the past twenty years of Democratic government American business has flourished and expanded as in no other period. Yet deprived by the New Deal of their former sway over the American economy, business men have developed a deep-rooted persecution complex. It was to be expected, therefore, that those temples of private enterprise, the stock exchanges, would celebrate the Eisenhower victory with some kind of demonstration. But the festivities were short-lived. After a fairly hectic opening hour on November 5, it became clear that no great volume of "funk" money was coming out of hiding, and profit-taking wiped out most of the early gains. Since then the market has moved a little higher but has hardly been sufficiently active to cheer those brokers whose earnings depend on a large turnover.

The fact is that, irrespective of Washington changes, a good many investors have been casting doubtful looks at 1953 prospects. Although defense spending promises to remain heavy, it will begin to flatten out next year; besides which the tremendous private-investment program of the post-war period has brought production fairly into line with consumption. As a consequence, business men, fearful of over-capacity, are likely to be chary about further expansion. Finally, for the next few years there will be a decline in the marriage rate and the setting-up of new homes—an important stimulant to business—thanks to the low birth rate during the Hoover depression.

And so today, despite the big play given to the inflation issue by Republican orators, business, in the words of a *Wall Street Journal* market commentator, "is more alive to the possibilities of deflation." Indeed, the Eisenhower Administration may hardly have time to take unearned credit for ending inflation before it has to turn around and prime the pump lest Democratic prophecies of a Republican depression be fulfilled.

McCarran and the Schools

It is unfortunate that the McCarran committee should have conducted its recent investigation of the New York public schools during the final weeks of an exciting Presidential campaign. Neither the hearings nor the subsequent proceedings received the attention they properly merit. Eight teachers were summarily removed from their positions for refusal to answer questions before the committee, and three professors in the city colleges were dropped for the same reason.

In ordering the dismissals the school authorities have relied on a section of the New York city charter which provides that action may be taken against municipal employees who shall "refuse to testify or to answer any question regarding the property, government, or affairs of the city." Had the teachers refused to answer questions related to these matters, the section would have been applicable. But the questioning was not along these lines, nor was it addressed to the classroom conduct or teaching competence of the witnesses; on the contrary, it was directed at their political beliefs and associations.

Discussion of the New York hearings has been largely centered on the behavior and treatment of the teachers rather than on the paramount issue, which is the freedom and autonomy of the public-school system. The real objective of this and similar inquiries will be revealed in due course but by the time the danger is sensed the damage may be irreparable. Already Representative Harold H. Velde, who is slated to become chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has announced that he favors a "broad investigation" of subversive influences in American education and the Hearst press is demanding that the proposed inquiry be extended to include textbooks, teacher-training institutions, and related matters. Inquiries of this kind are certain to play into the hands of the enemies of public education, who are redoubling their efforts to gain control of the schools.

Idaho Likes the U. N.

Mrs. Gracie Pfost's defeat of Representative John T. Wood, in Idaho's First Congressional District, by the narrow margin of 650 votes, was one of several encouraging exceptions to the general pattern of the election. During the campaign Republican bigwigs attempted to dispose of Wood's violent opposition to the United Nations by saying that he merely wanted to have the Charter amended. But this explanation could not be reconciled with Wood's sponsorship of H. R. 5080—to rescind and revoke the membership of this country in the United Nations. In the campaign Mrs. Pfost stressed the need for a stronger U. N. and spoke out for repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, for federal aid to education, against turning tidelands oil over to the states, in favor of the Hell's Canyon project (see *The Nation* of November 1), and for broader social-security coverage. Despite the fact that Eisenhower carried the state by two to one, Mrs. Pfost managed to beat Wood by almost the same narrow margin by which he had beaten her two years ago. The defeat of this arch isolationist in a state which only ten years ago was heavily isolationist is a measure of the support which the United Nations today commands in the West.

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Grave Moment for Peace

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THERE have been various indications here during the past week that a serious crisis is developing. The most spectacular was the tragic suicide of Abraham H. Feller, Acting Assistant Secretary General for Legal Affairs of the United Nations and personal counsel to Trygve Lie. Whatever the mixture of motives, and the apparently hopeless stalemate in Korea was certainly one, it is clear, as Mr. Lie charged, that the chief reason for Mr. Feller's act was the McCarran campaign of smears against the U. N. staff. His death, close on the heels of the Secretary General's sudden resignation, dramatized the intolerable situation created by the incoherence of American foreign policy on the issue of the United Nations: on the one hand, warm verbal support; on the other, tolerance of the abuse of the United Nations and the invasion of its sovereignty by a group of reactionary Senators and a section of the press.

Less dramatic than either event but of considerable significance was the warning sounded by Lester Pearson in his speech at a dinner of the United Nations Correspondents' Association on Armistice Day. His final words clearly revealed that he too, from his influential position as president of the Assembly, could see no way to end the Korean war. He warned that the world was threatened with the catastrophe of a new global war and said, "If we go down for a third time we may stay down."

The second part of the Korean debate, both in the Political Committee and in the General Assembly, was highlighted by the presence of Mr. Eden, M. Schuman, and Mr. Vishinsky. None of their speeches gave any support to the rumors circulating during the week-end that a new truce proposal was in the offing. M. Schuman, as had been anticipated, concentrated all his effort on checking the movement in favor of United Nations intervention in the Tunisian-Moroccan issue. Capable as was his presentation of the French case, it had one grave weakness. Basically the problem of Tunisia and Morocco is a political, not a legalistic, one, and it is not to be settled either by a rigid interpretation of treaties or by an enumeration, however exact, of what the colonizing power has accomplished in the way of building schools, improving health conditions, and creating flourishing industries. It is a repetition of the controversy over India of twenty years ago; people prefer to be independent, even if independence brings them difficulties and misery. However, after his intervention in the Assembly, M. Schuman held an hour-long press conference, delighting the correspondents by his humor and sharp intelligence, in which French agility and German thoroughness were subtly mingled with the finesse of Vatican diplomacy.

Mr. Eden's speech indicated that the Kremlin is in for a hard time if its immediate objective really is to split up the West. If the Russians want to try their fortunes in that direction, they certainly have in their hands some cards which they have not yet played. Still, as things are today, it is easier for Britain to veer away from the United States in words than in deeds. Certainly Mr. Eden deviated from the American attitude by suggesting that the last ten minutes of Mr. Vishinsky's second speech on Korea offered a slight chance of approaching the problem of war prisoners from a new angle. Vishinsky did this by presenting a new draft of the resolution of October 29 and naming the members of the proposed commission—the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Communist China, India, Burma, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, and South Korea.

But in the tone and phrasing of his speech Mr. Eden made clear his desire to avoid any concession to the Russian point of view that might weaken the common Anglo-American front. It was a conciliatory discourse, extremely well balanced but without force. Mr. Eden gave proof of his habitual good sense by not mentioning the twenty-one-nations' resolution, originally inspired by the United States, indorsing without qualification the stand taken by the U. N. negotiators at Panmunjom. In order to pass, the resolution will need forty votes; on the day Mr. Eden spoke only thirty-three could be counted on.

Finally the Indian delegation decided to incorporate in a new resolution all previous proposals and to submit it to the General Assembly within the next few days. Since New Delhi had made it a condition for any new attempt by India that both parties should desire its mediation, this Indian plan has received great attention. But if there is any ground for hope it lies mainly in the fact that the American resolution is still seven votes short of the minimum required for adoption.

The few persons who watch the United Nations from the vantage point of direct experience of the League of Nations often sigh nostalgically for the skilled mediators of the old Geneva days: the Rumanian, Titulescu; the Greek, Politis; and a few others. And in spite of the many weaknesses and final failure of the League, it is true that we have since witnessed a devaluation of statesmanship; great diplomats are becoming ever rarer. The first requirement of a diplomat is to have something positive to propose. Today no one seems to have the capacity, or perhaps the courage, to come forward with any creative solution. The General Assembly is dominated by a very different concept of negotiation: to offer no quid pro quo and to stick rigidly to positions already taken. In any case the announcement of the explosion of the hydrogen bomb is hardly a substitute for diplomacy.

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ELECTION KALEIDOSCOPE

I. The Midwest: Confused and Quixotic

BY SAMUEL J. ELDERSVELD

Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE Presidential election results indicate that the Middle West has reverted to its pre-1932 political form. But the electorate did so many other things with its ballot that the meaning of its preferences, if cumulated, is not clear. Certainly there was no violent Republican landslide from top to bottom of the ballot.

The "Middle West" includes Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, but it may also include Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. These seven states displayed remarkable addiction to Republicanism up to 1932; from 1864 to 1928 only a few shifts to the Democrats occurred—generally in atypical elections such as those of 1892 and 1912.

With the election of 1932 the homogeneity of Republican control disappeared. Even state governorships and United States senatorships fell into Democratic hands. All seven states supported Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, and from three to five were Democratic in 1940, 1944, and 1948. But in 1948 both the Republican and Democratic victories were very narrow in all these states except Minnesota. Michigan and Indiana went Republican with 49.7 per cent and 50.1 per cent of the vote respectively; Ohio went to Truman with 49.5 per cent, Wisconsin with 51.2 per cent, Illinois with 50.4 per cent, and Iowa with 50.8 per cent. Minnesota was 57.5 per cent Democratic. Thus, six states were teetering on the verge of preferring a Republican President in 1948. The actual distribution of the aggregate vote in the four primary Middle Western states in 1948 was 49.6 per cent Republican and 49.5 per cent Democratic. It is in this historical context that the 1952 election results must be viewed.

General Eisenhower's sweep of the Midwest Presidential vote was decisive, but it fell short of previous landslides, Democratic and Republican. All seven states are safely in the Eisenhower column, having given him 55 per cent or more of their vote—at this writing final figures are not available. An extreme shift back to the Republicans occurred in Iowa (64 per cent), Wisconsin (61 per cent), and Ohio (57 per cent). Eisenhower's plurality was above 300,000 in each of the states except Minnesota, where it appears to be about 150,000. But Harding and Hoover in 1920 and 1928 rolled up greater majorities, and in the Democratic landslide of 1936 Roosevelt carried several of these states by larger margins. Sizable as the Eisenhower victory was, the Democrats did not drop to the low percentages of previous Republican "landslides" except in Iowa and Wisconsin, where they reached the low mark of 1928. In a sense Louis Bean's observation that the "Democratic lows are higher" in recent Presidential cycles is borne out by developments in the Middle West.

The general nature of the Republican victory is less decisive when one looks beyond the Presidential results. The House of Representatives will have almost the same party representation from the Middle West as after the 1950 election—seventy-seven Republicans, twenty-six Democrats (before Sabath's death), one Independent. The Republicans actually lost two seats in Illinois but picked one up in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan.

Except for Senator Blair Moody's defeat the verdict of the Senatorial races was much the same. Incumbents were returned to office. The most striking feature of these contests was the Republicans' relatively slim margin of victory. Jenner's plurality was more than 200,000 less than Ike's, Schricker running well ahead of the Democratic ticket. Joe McCarthy, who had won by 240,000 in 1946 and had asked for the same or better, also ran behind Ike, winning by fewer than 150,000 votes. His opponent, Thomas Fairchild, put up an amazing fight, which was not expected in view of McCarthy's overwhelming primary indorsement. And there is no indication that the Democrats will relax. Democratic Chairman Doyle says: "To Senator McCarthy—war to the death." Senators Bricker and Thye will be back from Ohio and Minnesota. Perhaps the outstanding performance was that of Moody in Michigan. He lost to Representative Potter, a legless war veteran with Chicago *Tribune* backing, by only 46,000 votes out of 2,900,000—this despite the fact that it was his first campaign and that he had to contend with the communism issue, the Korean issue, the tremendous rural turnout, and the Ike landslide. He received a Wayne County (Detroit) plurality of 275,000, 63 per cent of its vote.

The Republicans won two governorships in addition to holding those in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Stratton succeeds Stevenson in Illinois, but again with a reduced plurality, almost 300,000 less than Ike's. Stratton lost Cook County and Chicago but won with 63 per cent of the "suburban" vote in Cook County and 58 per cent

SAMUEL J. ELDERSVELD, associate professor of political science at the University of Michigan, is co-author (with James K. Pollock) of "Michigan Politics in Transition."

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of the downstate vote. Ike's "suburban" vote was larger and he took Cook County, though by less than one per cent. Craig becomes the second Republican governor of Indiana in twenty years.

In Michigan a political myth was exploded when Williams became the first Democrat to win the governorship three times in succession. His margin stands at 7,151. He won only fourteen of the eighty-three counties, and ten of these were in the Upper Peninsula, but his lead in Wayne was a resounding 276,000. His victory can be attributed to many factors—personality, campaign ability, and his aggressive fight with the Republican legislature. Again, in the face of the Ike landslide the result is amazing. Governor Lausche's Democratic victory in Ohio was just as striking. He was asking for a third consecutive term, but his 414,000 plurality compared well with Ike's 487,000. Democratic gubernatorial leadership has not been repudiated in the Middle West.

So far as can be determined, the party complexion of state legislatures and county governments remains about the same. The Eisenhower landslide did not produce a "coat-tail" victory for local Republican machines in traditionally Democratic territory.

IT IS difficult to pinpoint the factors responsible for these paradoxical results. Certainly, voters were personality-conscious; many split their tickets. The Williams-Moody vote attests this, and here the separate Presidential ballot spitefully enacted by the Republicans in 1944 boomeranged. The Lausche victory is further evidence; close to a million Ohio voters skipped discriminatingly from party to party.

The turnout in the whole region was large, up to 3,000,000 more votes being cast than in 1948. Close to 65 per cent of Michigan's voters went to the polls, compared with 53 per cent in 1948. Proportionately more of these 800,000 new voters were in the rural counties than in the metropolis. Only one-fourth were in Wayne County, almost a half upstate. And it was in rural areas that Ike picked up a 500,000 plurality. There seems to be a correlation between the increased turnout and the Eisenhower vote, particularly in rural counties.

The "big city" vote did not shift radically. Ike cut into it in places but many senatorial and gubernatorial candidates did not. The largest cities still gave Stevenson a plurality—151,000 in Chicago, 165,000 in Wayne County (Detroit). Chicago gave Dixon, the Democratic candidate for governor, 75,000 more than Stevenson. Wayne County gave Stevenson practically the same as it had given Truman, but it gave Williams and Moody much larger margins. McCarthy lost to Fairchild the four most populous counties in Wisconsin, including Milwaukee; Lake County (Gary), Indiana, went Democratic. Although some metropolitan votes swung to the Republicans, it cannot be concluded that the "big city" voters deserted the Democratic Party en masse.

The Republicans did win a solid Presidential victory in the Middle West. But there is solace for the Democrats. Stevenson's campaign was not too highbrow, as an audience-reaction study here showed; the Democratic leadership has not been decisively routed; Democratic metropolitan centers of power remain. Sectionalism in Presidential politics may be temporarily reestablished here, but the mandate from the Middle West in state and Congressional politics emerges from the 1952 elections as confused and quixotic.

II. The South: Changing and Rebellious

BY WILLIAM G. CARLETON

Gainesville, Florida

THE Democratic solid South has been split by internal revolt three times in the last quarter-century—in 1928, 1948, and 1952. The revolt of 1952, though devoid of the Catholic and prohibition issues, resembles that of 1928 more than that of 1948.

In 1948 the Dixiecrats carried four old planter states, in part by keeping Truman electors off the ballot in Alabama and by forcing Truman to run in a non-Democratic column in Louisiana. This year the four Dixiecrat states were back in the Democratic column. The "Negro question" did not bulk so large. Gradually the old South is accepting the outlawing of the white primary, becoming accustomed to the gradual increase in Negro voting, and depending on a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress to defeat civil-rights legislation.

This year, as in 1928, the Republican vote shot up sensationally in all the Southern states, and four of the five states that were for Hoover in 1928 were for Eisenhower in 1952—Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, and Florida. These are the most highly urbanized states of the South.

"Democrats for Eisenhower," drawn most heavily from the business and professional classes in uneasy and sometimes troubled alliance with the "rotten borough" Republican organizations, spearheaded the Eisenhower

WILLIAM G. CARLETON is professor of political science at the University of Florida.

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drive. In general, Eisenhower ran strongest in the middle-class, chamber-of-commerce, civic-club towns and cities of medium size—the sort of communities in which, in other parts of the country, the Republicans normally are strongest—and in the large cities that are distributing rather than industrial centers. In general, Stevenson ran best in Negro precincts of cities and towns, in wage-earner precincts, in mill towns, and in rural areas, particularly those where small farmers and tenant farmers are numerous. The great strength of the Democrats in rural areas suggests the reason why Governor Herman Talmadge did not join Governors Byrnes, Kennon, and Shivers in revolting from the Democratic Party; Talmadge's power, thanks to the county-unit system, is based almost exclusively on the allegiance of the rural voters.

DUVAL COUNTY, Florida, may be taken as a microcosm of Southern voting in 1952. Stevenson carried Duval by a few thousand votes. In the Negro precincts of Jacksonville he obtained 90 per cent or more of the votes, and he carried the wage-earner precincts of the city and the rural areas of the county by substantial margins. He lost the silk-stocking and middle-class precincts and also the lower-middle-class, moderate-to-low-salaried, white-collar-worker precincts. The break for Eisenhower came in these lower-middle-class districts, which Senator Claude Pepper carried in 1938 and 1944 and lost in 1950, the kind of district Samuel Lubell claims is largely responsible for the shift nationally from the Democrats to the Republicans. Wake County, North Carolina (Raleigh), shows a somewhat similar breakdown. Gainesville, Florida, a quiet middle-class town of moderate size, may be considered fairly typical. It was carried heavily by Eisenhower, but Stevenson ran much stronger in the precincts where Negro voters and white wage-earner voters live in appreciable numbers.

The tenacity of voting patterns based on *real* as distinguished from *nominal* party politics is strikingly reaffirmed by the 1952 election. For instance, in the South Carolina tidewater, in the twenty-two counties of Alabama's black belt (Selma is the spiritual capital of this area), and in the Mississippi Delta, where the pre-Civil War Whigs were strong and where conservative Democracy has been strong, the Eisenhower vote was in general heaviest. Among the small farmers and mill hands of the South Carolina Piedmont and among the hillbillies of northern Alabama and upland Mississippi, where Populist and agrarian radicalism has been strong, the Stevenson vote was in general heaviest.

Here and there over the South, a number of Negroes were elected to local office on November 4. In Richmond County, Georgia (Augusta), in the heart of the black belt, a distinguished Negro was elected to the county school board. This county is the home of Roy Harris, Georgia's leading Dixiecrat, and undoubtedly the Dixiecrat movement of 1948 intensified the Negro tendency to block voting. The truth is that Negroes, white farmers, and white wage-earners of the South more and more are voting together.

The South is still a long way from being a two-party section, although a real beginning has been made. Southern Democrats voted for General Eisenhower the popular military hero, the man above party, indeed, the man whom the Democrats in 1948 and in 1952 would have run if they could have persuaded him. Many Southern editors are saying that the 1952 election in the South shows a "no-party" rather than a two-party tendency, that it is in the American tradition of "the man is more important than the party." This more or less spontaneous voting for Eisenhower required no permanent organization and no real break with the Democratic Party. In voting for Eisenhower, Southern conservatives had a chance to strike at Truman's domestic policies, which they disliked, and apparently to uphold his foreign policies, which they liked.

However, having voted the Republican ticket, people will find it easier to do so again, especially when such voting puts them in contact with natural economic allies in the North. Whether the Southern vote for Eisenhower can be made a basis for a grass-roots Republican Party in the South depends upon the general success of the Eisenhower Administration, its willingness to undertake grass-roots political organization, and its ability to defeat the Taft groups in the South which want to conserve the old rump Republican organizations.

Old Guard Republican leadership in the South resents the Eisenhower Democrats, and at the same time it tends to sacrifice local Republican candidates and local Republican organizations to national Republican success. On several occasions during the campaign the Carroll Reece Republicans of Tennessee ignored and humiliated the independent Eisenhower organizations. In Louisiana the Republican state and Congressional tickets were withdrawn in order to cement the temporary pro-Eisenhower alliance of Kennon Democrats and Louisiana Republicans. Concentration on Presidential politics and patronage and neglect of grass-roots organization can only postpone a real two-party system in the South.

THE election of 1952 in the South was not so much a contest between Republicans and Democrats as a contest for control of the Democratic Party organization in the various Southern states: in Virginia, Byrd against anti-Byrd; in South Carolina, Byrnes and Thurmond against Senator Olin Johnston; in Louisiana, Kennon against Long; in Mississippi, Fielding Wright against Governor White; in Texas, Shivers against Senator Lyndon Johnson. If one would understand the slow and fundamental party realignments today taking place in the South, one

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will find the key in the amazingly complex factional fights within the Democratic Party.

In every state the Democratic Party of the South is divided into three general groups: conservative Democrats increasingly willing to cooperate with Republicans and on the way ultimately to becoming Republicans, conservative regulars like the Russellites, and New Dealers. The first group is drawn largely from the professional and business classes; the second group, largely from the prosperous rural areas; the third, from small farmers, wage-earners, and Negroes, and it is precariously situated because of the explosive race issue.

When Southern delegations go to the Democratic National Convention in 1956 they must, pursuant to the rule of 1952, be prepared to take the loyalty oath to the national Democratic Party. Perhaps the delegates from North Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, and a few other Southern states will take this oath. Thus loyalist and national Democratic organizations would control these states, and the conservative minorities would be more or less in alliance with the Republicans. But conservative delegations from Virginia, Florida, Texas, and some other Southern states may refuse to take the oath. What then?

The dominant conservative factions in these states may well call themselves the Democratic Party of Virginia, the Democratic Party of Florida, the Democratic Party of Texas. They would be more or less in alliance with the Republicans. Perhaps the day will come when they will merge with the Republicans. But that day may yet be a decade or so away. In the meantime, in the states where the conservatives were in control, liberal and national Democrats would be found who would take the loyalty oath, and these would receive the recognition of the Democratic National Committee and of the Democratic national Administration, if and when there is one. In this slow, tortuous way a genuine two-party system is developing in the South.

The national Democrats in the South believe that the national party, in the light of the disastrous defeat of the Stevenson-Sparkman middle-of-the-road ticket, will in 1956 veer again to the left. They are prepared for this turn. Former Senator Claude Pepper, writing in the *Georgia Review* last June, suggested that the best way to win against Eisenhower in 1952 would be for the Democrats to nominate an out-and-out New Deal ticket. At the Chicago convention it will be recalled that Senator Kefauver was in alliance with the Minnesota-Michigan-New York axis. New Deal Southerners know that this leftist course would increase their immediate difficulties, for it would drive more Russellites into the ranks of those Democrats who cooperate with the Republicans; but they believe that it would hasten the inevitable realignment and ultimately give them control of the national Democratic Party in the South. Moreover, they believe that this way lies national victory.

III. New England: Mixed Results

BY JAMES M. BURNS and PHILIP K. HASTINGS

Williamstown, Massachusetts

THE six New England states have given a solid vote of confidence to Dwight Eisenhower but not to his party. The General won all their forty electoral votes and carried into office a lot of other Republican candidates on his ample coat tails. But the Democrats, at least in the central, urban areas, seem to have kept their grip on key groups of voters.

The General was expected to win Connecticut and the three northern states of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Surprisingly, he carried Massachusetts by more than 200,000 votes and Rhode Island by about 6,000. In 1948 Harry S. Truman won these two states by 240,000 and 54,000 votes, respectively. Massachusetts had not voted for a Republican for President since Calvin Coolidge, a native New Englander, carried it in 1924.

But despite Eisenhower's impressive sweep the results were mixed for other G. O. P. candidates. The Republicans gained a United States Senate seat in Connecticut but lost one in Massachusetts. They picked up a Congressional seat in Connecticut to add to their solid blocks in northern New England, but elected no new Representatives in Massachusetts or Rhode Island. Representative Christian A. Herter beat the Democratic Paul A. Dever for governor of Massachusetts by a narrow margin, but only two other Republicans won state office, and both of them defeated vulnerable Democrats. Representative John F. Kennedy defeated the incumbent Henry Cabot Lodge for United States Senator in the only other statewide race. Three Democrats won major state offices. The Republicans kept control of the state senate and regained

JAMES M. BURNS, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Williams College, is co-author of "Government by the People." Philip K. Hastings, assistant professor of psychology at Williams, is also curator of the Elmo Roper Public Opinion Collection there.

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control of the lower house, but in each case only by narrow margins.

Why did General Eisenhower sweep New England while the rest of his ticket generally lagged far behind? The authors have been directing a field study of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, an urban community of 50,000 with varied ethnic, religious, and occupational groups. Scientifically selected samples of the population have been interviewed intensively and repeatedly over a period of eight months. Pittsfield was chosen because it was believed to reflect political attitudes and behavior prevailing in industrial New England. The results of the study suggest these conclusions:

1. Eisenhower won some support from all elements of the voting population. He was able to cut into the traditionally Democratic vote to a greater extent than Dewey did in 1948. But his success in winning Democratic support varied from group to group—and much of the story of the 1952 election is found in these variations.

2. Contrary to the widespread belief, the General did not win over most of the younger voters. As in recent Presidential elections the younger voters showed a marked preference for the Democratic candidate.

3. Eisenhower received more support from Roman Catholics than Dewey did in 1948, but not to a striking extent. Of Pittsfield Catholics, 8 per cent more voted for Eisenhower than for Dewey. It is possible that the Catholic defection was somewhat higher in larger cities like Boston.

4. Reports that housewives threw strong support to the General are borne out by our study. Housewives gave Dewey less than half their vote in 1948; Eisenhower 58 per cent in 1952.

5. Eisenhower made sizable gains among the nonvoters of 1948, especially among women and older people. These groups, whom Dewey and Truman left cold in 1948, flocked to the polls this year for Eisenhower.

Eisenhower's appeal to the voter in Pittsfield had two main aspects: his personality made a strong impact, and he served as a symbol of national security. Asked what they considered to be the chief problem facing the country, Pittsfield voters during the last eight months stressed again and again the threat of total war. The high cost of living was of far less concern to them. They worried some about corruption but felt that the Republicans would or could do little about it. At the same time they saw Eisenhower as a great general and a man deeply experienced in foreign affairs. While they admired Stevenson largely as a Democrat, the fact of Eisenhower's Republicanism was of little importance to them. It is true that Eisenhower "won the popularity contest," but his popularity was closely related to the things voters were worrying about. He served as a symbol of national security much as Roosevelt served as a symbol of economic security in the 1930's.

If Pittsfield reflects New England political behavior, the core of traditional Democratic strength in the region is largely intact. General Eisenhower made dents in the urban, labor, minority, and Catholic vote, but not deep inroads. The future of the Republican Party in New England will rest on its ability to convert pro-Eisenhower sentiment into pro-Republican sentiment. Can it do this? Much will depend in turn on Republican capacity in both the national and the state government to cope with the problems of New England—regional unemployment, Southern competition, high power rates, and the like. Successful Republican politics may call for the progressive type of Republicanism typified by such effective vote-getters as Senators Aiken and Flanders of Vermont, Tobey of New Hampshire, Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, and Saltonstall of Massachusetts.

New England Democrats face a challenge too. In most of the big races the Democrats who survived the Republican trend were energetic liberals rather than old-line politicians, and they represented a variety of ethnic groups. Striking examples are Jack Kennedy and Foster Furcolo in Massachusetts, Aime J. Forand in Rhode Island, and Abe Ribicoff in Connecticut—who lost in his try for the Senate but ran far ahead of his ticket. These candidates offered fresh faces and ideas to the voters. Kennedy's victory over Lodge is especially significant. Lodge was a skilful campaigner with a national reputation and a famous Massachusetts name and in past elections had actually won more votes in Boston than his Irish opponents. Kennedy's plurality of about 70,000 votes this year has been variously credited to his ample funds, his colossal tea parties for thousands of women, and the feeling against Lodge among Taft Republicans. These factors played a part, but the main explanation of the outcome was Kennedy's exploitation of the full Democratic vote, plus his political appeal to the housewives. New England Democrats, including those in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, have discovered that the Democratic label in itself is not enough to bring out all the traditional groups in the party; the people are interested in the quality of the candidates too.

Next Week

Our regional analysis of the election results will be continued with articles on

The West Coast

By David Farrelly, assistant professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The Rocky Mountain States

By Thomas C. Donnelly, president of New Mexico Highlands University and editor of the volume "Rocky Mountain Politics."

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London and Paris: Second Thoughts

Nye Likes Ike

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

I HAVE recovered from my gloom of earlier today," admitted a Bevanite M. P. on the evening of November 5, after both Stevenson's defeat in the United States and Labor's defeat in the marginal by-election at High Wycombe had become known. "I personally think Ike's victory is all for the best," declared the somewhat Bevanite editor of a popular Labor Sunday newspaper. "I have always felt that we would never learn to stand on our own feet until we had to. Now we'll have to, and it may do us a lot of good."

The initial dejection of the left-wing Socialists was somewhat alleviated when they realized that the caricature of America with which they had been frightening British audiences had come to be a faithful photograph. An editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, who had hoped for a Stevenson victory, wrote:

> In recent years it has been fashionable to denounce the British critics of McCarthyism as dyspeptic "anti-Americans." They were told that Joe McCarthy was merely part of the "lunatic fringe," that Senators Knowland, Jenner, Bridges, and Cain did not carry any weight, and that the China lobby had no influence on American policy. It is unfortunately the Cassandras who have been proved right in the event. McCarthyism has won votes, not merely in Wisconsin, but all across the country. The election of Eisenhower, whatever he himself intends, is a triumph for the witch-hunters, for the American Legion and the F. B. I., for McCarthy and McCarran, for Karl Mundt and Richard Nixon.

This was meant primarily as a slap at right-wing Laborites, particularly Denis Healey, M. P., who had said that the Truman Fair Deal was just an American version of Labor's Welfare State. To make the Anglo-American alliance more palatable to British Laborites, Mr. Healey had insisted that American capitalism no longer existed and that attacking the Americans was as reprehensible as attacking the Jews. The United States election returns rather silenced him.

The election furnished a much-needed shot in the arm for the Bevanites. Though their strength among Labor militants had been demonstrated at the party conference at Morecambe, their weakness among Labor M. P.'s enabled the Attlee-Morrison forces to compel them to disband their factional group in the House. The Bevanites then, with other Laborites, threw their full strength into the by-election at High Wycombe. This marginal seat had been won by Labor in 1945 and 1950 and by the Conservatives in 1951. The Bevanites especially wanted to win it back to disprove the right-wing assertion that their immoderate activities, particularly their demands for further socialization and their attacks on the United States, were frightening away Liberal voters, who are particularly numerous in this constituency. When the Conservatives retained the seat, with an increased margin, it seemed to indicate that the shifting voter had not tired of Messrs. Churchill, Eden, and Butler and was apprehensive about Bevan and company.

Little wonder, therefore, that the London *Tribune*, the Bevanite weekly, exploited the Eisenhower victory as proof that it had not been wrong in its suspicions of American policy. Under the front-page headline "U. S. Election Brings Peril of a Slump" it said:

> General Eisenhower's sweeping victory in the American election marks a tragic setback to the cause of human decency and political sanity all over the world. It means the most crushing defeat inflicted on American labor since the unions first acquired political power in the early days of Roosevelt. It means that the retreat of American liberalism, which has been so evident in recent years, is turned, for the moment at least, into a rout.
>
> The United States administration will now be taken over by men who . . . have fought almost every project for American cooperation with the other democratic nations on reasonable terms. At the same time they have clamored for more aggressive action in the cold war; they have denounced the idea of negotiation; they have called for some ill-defined showdown with the Soviet regime. . . . Little faith can be placed in General Eisenhower's capacity to resist the demands of the Republican right wing.

The Tories, who first welcomed the Republican victory as a symptom of a resurgent conservatism, have also changed their tune, although they still like and admire General Eisenhower. The Republican victory, warned the Washington correspondent of the *Financial Times*, "could easily mean reduced foreign assistance, despite the President-elect's personal knowledge of how vital it is and despite his deep conviction of the need for effective allies in a collective-security system." In an editorial the *Financial Times* worried about the effect of a "shotgun marriage" with Europe on Britain's economy:

> One matter which may have direct repercussions on this country is Mr. Eisenhower's keen personal interest in fostering the political unification of Europe. He and many other Americans today are impatient about the

ANDREW ROTH is The Nation's *correspondent in London.*

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establishment of a European federation. The new Republican Administration . . . will certainly have no hesitations about using American aid funds as a political instrument to support the nascent federal institutions in Europe. . . . Britain's position in relation to these federal plans, even if fully understood, is unlikely to be popular.

But the most typical British reaction was that of Miss J. E. Lynch, who wrote to the *News Chronicle*:

I feel as if I have had to stand by and watch while a dear friend, whose life is closely bound up with mine, has married the wrong man. I knew I had no right to interfere or give advice, but I hoped very much that she would choose the other suitor. She has made her choice and I sincerely hope everything will turn out all right. But I am apprehensive.

Isolationism the Lesser Evil?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

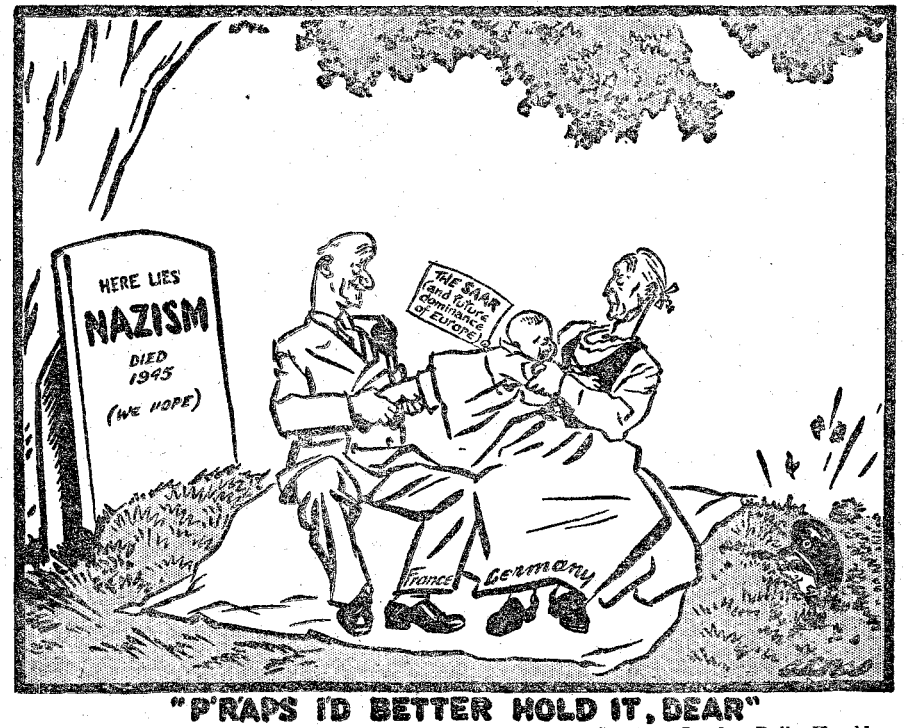
Paris

PEOPLE in Paris are still anxious, though in a reserved fashion, about what to expect from Eisenhower. Their most immediate worry is over Korea, and it has been made worse by an A. P. story from Tokyo that an "all-out war" will soon start, complete with the naval blockade of China, the transfer of Chiang Kai-shek's troops to the Korean theater, and possibly the use of the atom bomb. On top of this came the statement by Lewis Gough, head of the American Legion, insisting that the atom bomb must be used and assuming that Russia would not move. It is all regarded as evidence that the United States is now going to embark on an "adventurous" foreign policy. At the moment there is hope—but only faint hope—that Eisenhower's visit to Korea will not lead to an indorsement of MacArthurism.

The German militarists are delighted with the Republican victory. Defense Commissioner Blank is openly planning to provide 40 German generals and 22,000 "democratic-minded" German officers for the European army—the possibility that France will not ratify the army no longer causes him much concern. Herr Ramcke, a former major general of air-borne troops, glorifies war criminals, and Nazi songs of revenge are resounding more and more loudly throughout Germany. Eisenhower's polite second thoughts about the "gutless" French have not reassured public opinion, despite official expressions of pleasure. To most Frenchmen any intensive drive to rearm Europe today means simply the rearmament of Germany, and many recall Eisenhower's statement to *Match* a year ago that "by the end of 1952" Europe would be ready for a "showdown" with the Russians. The date has been postponed, but the program no doubt remains the same.

Some people have hoped that the new Administration would at least take a less "pedantic" position on North Africa, but M. Schuman's latest talks at the U. N. have not been encouraging. As for Indo-China, about which the French are getting pretty desperate, silence continues to be observed in Washington; and the thought that the United States may now plan to include Indo-China in a total war against China is perhaps even more terrifying than that the French there may be left indefinitely to their own devices. Even so, there is some talk of a bargain being struck—the United States to assume part of the responsibility for Indo-China in return for French ratification of German rearmament. In the belief that it is "inevitable anyway"—and may also bring in some dollars—France may surrender.

Extension of the Korean war, "roll-back" in Europe on the ground that "the Russians are as scared as at Brest-Litovsk" (a remark said to have been made by Eisenhower)—one is as terrifying a prospect as the other. A straw to which a certain number of French intellectuals cling is a possible, if improbable, triumph of Taftist isolationism, with America limiting its military commitments to the so-called peripheral strategy. This means that Europe would not be defended on land if it were attacked by Russia, but that the maximum weight of United States air strength would be set in motion from



"P'RAPS I'D BETTER HOLD IT, DEAR"

Courtesy London Daily Herald

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *correspondent in Paris.*

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the peripheral bases. Apart from this American guaranty, Europe could live peacefully in a state of more or less armed neutrality, and the immediate dangers of the roll-back policy and of German provocation would be avoided. But these intellectuals are not very optimistic, since there is little evidence that Eisenhower, however Taftist in his home policy, will also be isolationist in foreign affairs.

Perhaps "Taftist strategy" would have more supporters in France as the lesser evil if more were known about it; at present people are merely bewildered. Everybody is anxiously awaiting the results of Ike's first great test in Korea.

The Case of the Missing Cardinals

BY WILLIAM MURRAY

Rome

FOR more than two years persons close to the Vatican have been predicting that Pope Pius XII would soon call a consistory to fill the vacancies in the Sacred College of Cardinals, the governing body of the Roman Catholic church. The major news agencies reported in November a year ago that a consistory was scheduled, but the date has been repeatedly set back. Three more cardinals have died during the past six months, reducing the number to forty-six, which is twenty-four less than the full complement of seventy as fixed by Pope Sixtus V in 1586. Their death, incidentally, fulfilled an old Roman superstition that cardinals die in three's. Forty-seven cardinals have died since Pius XII was elected Pope in 1939, twenty-three of them since the last consistory in 1946, when thirty-two new cardinals were created, the biggest block ever to be named at one time.

The calling of a consistory is a major event, for the composition of the College of Cardinals strongly influences the international policy of the church. Pope Pius has maintained strict silence about the many postponements. Even the editor of the *Osservatore Romano,* the official Vatican newspaper, has openly expressed his perplexity. The most plausible reason so far given concerns the Vatican's policy of internationalizing the church and its relations with the White House. The international trend was first clearly noticeable in 1946 when only four of Pacelli's thirty-two new cardinals turned out to be Italians. The Italians thus lost their centuries-old majority in the Sacred College and are now in a minority of sixteen to thirty. But only three of the thirty are Americans, and here perhaps is the explanation of Pope Pius's delaying tactics.

Last fall it was strongly rumored that the Pope intended to enlarge the Sacred College to 100 members. This seemed plausible, since the church's adherents have quadrupled in number since 1586, a large part of the increase being in the Americas. By internationalizing the church Pope Pius would undoubtedly solidify its internal political structure, but the plan has its weaknesses. The most obvious, of course, is the possible election of a non-Italian Pope, the first since the Dutchman, Adrian VI, in 1522.

The international policy of the church today is necessitated by its dependence on American support. Its very survival depends upon United States policy. The Vatican cannot ignore the affluent, militant, and vociferous American church. And it knows that American politicians are well aware of the organized voting strength of American Catholics. At the same time it sees that Americans are incapable of understanding that Italians and other Europeans often consider themselves Communists and Catholics at the same time. Thus it finds itself caught in the dilemma of how to cement the necessary closer union with the American Catholic church—that is, include more Americans on the governing bodies of the church—and also keep the reins of church policy firmly in the grasp of the Italians, or at least the Europeans.

I have often heard the American Catholic church described here as "naive" and "puritanical," meaning inflexible in its ideals and ignorant of the subtle problems of the church's dual role in Europe. The church cannot afford to excommunicate its Communists, but it needs America "as the Sahara needs water," to quote an Italian journalist. The failure to obtain the appointment of an ambassador was a serious blow. The power of the church within the United States was overrated, and for this the American leaders must take the blame. Further weakening of European control in the College of Cardinals may be considered inadvisable for the present.

A curious story, however, is making the rounds here. When Pope Pius was Papal Nuncio in Munich after World War I, the famous Bavarian seer, Theresa Neumann, told him he would be Pope and would hold two consistories. She later told Bishop Tkotsch of Berlin that the Pope would die shortly after the second consistory. Both the German and the Italian bishops have been urging Pius not to call it, since "Theresa Neumann's predictions have been fantastically accurate." And, after all, Pope Pius is seventy-six.

WILLIAM MURRAY writes frequently for The Nation *on interesting happenings in Italy.*

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Lincoln in the War Years

IMPRESSIONS OF LINCOLN AND THE CIVIL WAR. A FOREIGNER'S ACCOUNT. By the Marquis Adolphe de Chambrun. Translated from the French by General Aldebert de Chambrun. Random House. $2.75.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, A BIOGRAPHY. By Benjamin P. Thomas. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.75.

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT. MIDSTREAM. By J. G. Randall. Dodd, Mead and Company. $7.50.

THE Lincoln theme never grows stale. We do not exhaust our capacity to learn from the life of a man whose experiences hold so many clues to our character as a people. And we are still capable of drawing lessons of contemporary significance from the political problems of his career in the Presidency and on the way to it.

Here are three diverse volumes dealing with Lincoln. It would be difficult to say there is much that is "new" in any of them; yet each is useful in its own way. Although a great mass of Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress have only recently been made available to scholars, those papers seem not to have altered our image of the man in any fundamental respect.

The Marquis de Chambrun adds another to the accounts by foreigners who met Lincoln and were impressed by him. Chambrun was the unofficial representative of the French government—which was worried by the American attitude toward its protégé, Maximilian, in Mexico—and had intimate connections in the United States through his marriage to the granddaughter of Lafayette. He was therefore able to penetrate innermost government circles, and his letters to his wife, here translated by his son, contain perceptive descriptions of Lincoln and his entourage. There is nothing startling in these pictures; rather, they add confirmatory detail to what we already know.

Thomas's is the first serious effort in a quarter-century to put the whole of Lincoln's life within the compass of a single volume. Having mastered thoroughly the great mass of Lincoln literature, Thomas has given us a convenient summary of the man and his career. There are a few errors of fact, such as the statement that the Compromise of 1850 rested on the idea of popular sovereignty; and Mr. Thomas is not often inclined toward imaginative interpretation. The writing, furthermore, is not always up to the level of the subject. But the book is in general characterized by a sober reliability and a straightforward, readable style. It will not altogether replace Lord Charnwood's older biography, but it will supply a useful alternative.

Mr. Randall's is the third instalment of a four-volume study of the career of Lincoln as President. "Midstream" deals largely with the critical year of 1863. By means of a topical analysis it examines the President's characteristics as a person and the problems with which he dealt. There are enlightening chapters on Lincoln's humor, on his family, on the constitutional problems of his Administration, as well as on the progress of military events and the fight against disloyalty at home. The end result is a thoughtful and judicious appraisal of Lincoln and of his times.

The problems of greatest interest touched upon in all three volumes are those connected with the experience of a democracy at war. Lincoln encountered such problems at various levels—in his personal life, in his relations with Congress, and in his own broodings over the meaning of the bloody struggle. To an impressive degree men in these years found their actions at significant junctures wrapped up in personal tragedy. The death of a son and of a brother-in-law meant much to the President. General Sherman lost his little boy on the eve of his great campaign. Reaction to these immediate shocks certainly conditioned the behavior of both men.

The understanding of Lincoln's role as party leader has often been blurred by the inclination to regard the Congress as if it were rigidly divided into two altogether separate sectors—the radicals and the conservatives. Mr. Thomas, particularly, goes astray on this score. A more realistic view would start with the recognition of the newness of the Republican Party, new not only in power but also as a party. Among the Republicans were a variety of groups which entered into series of shifting alliances with each other as well as with the various factions of war Democrats, still represented in Congress. Lincoln therefore never faced the necessity of choosing to affiliate with one group or another. He was instead able to pick his way among the various factions, drawing to his support on particular issues a kind of shifting and fluid majority. That accounts for his ability to hold the nation together through its prolonged military crisis. Perhaps more impressive, it accounts also for the great civil achievements of his Administration. While the war went on, the Congress and the President still had the time and energy to evolve far-reaching constructive programs dealing with immigration, land, railroads, education, and agriculture. These were evidence of the internal strength of the nation and of the potentialities of constructive leadership in it.

A masterly politician, Lincoln was of course much more than that. It is impressive to see the extent to which his own views of the conflict changed as it went on. He had reluctantly ventured into battle for very limited objectives. It was the prosecution of the war itself that revealed its fullest meaning to him. Slowly, almost reluctantly, Lincoln gave up his initial insistence that he was fighting simply to preserve the Union and discovered the connection of the struggle with the cause of human freedom in a much larger sense. This was a sign of the greatness of the man.

OSCAR HANDLIN

The Theater of Japan

JAPANESE THEATER. By Faubion Bowers. Foreword by Joshua Logan. Hermitage House. $5.

IN THE welter of reports on Japanese culture which have been appearing in the slick-paper journals since it became permissible to speak kindly of Japan, there have been a few scattered

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accounts of the marvels of the Japanese theater. Here James Michener and Joshua Logan have taken the lead, preparing the way for the theatrical feast we hope is to come when Mr. Logan clears away State Department red tape and brings to Broadway a full-scale importation of Japan's fantastic dramatic form, *Kabuki*. Meanwhile many of us have felt the need for a new and definitive book on the Japanese theater, and the need has been at least partially filled by Faubion Bowers.

Mr. Bowers, who has unusual linguistic gifts and is also a trained musician, first became interested in the Japanese theater in 1940, when, at twenty-three, he was teaching at Hosei University in Tokyo. In 1945 he went back to Japan, this time as a major with the advance party of MacArthur; and in 1947 and 1948 he was assigned to police the Japanese theater for anti-democratic tendencies. His position as Chief Censor of the Theater—a title right out of "The Mikado"—was neither ideal nor enviable, and it is a tribute to his compassion and his artistic understanding that he made many friends in the theatrical world. He also made the most of his opportunity to increase his knowledge of Japan's theater arts.

His book, the preface tells us, "is a report on the theater in all its forms in Japan . . . a survey of what theater arts exist there today and how they arose." If his survey is limited, we must still be grateful, for it is sufficient to reveal much of the elegance and beauty of the Japanese theatrical tradition. His survey is limited because he devotes the greater part of his discussion to the history and aesthetics of the *Kabuki* stage and relegates the *Nô* drama to a subsidiary position. Mr. Bowers is frank to say that he puts the emphasis on *Kabuki* because it is far more popular, and far more comprehensible to the common folk of Japan, than the often effete and narrow intellectual archaism of the *Nô* plays. But in this reviewer's opinion the *Nô* drama, though it is certainly less spectacular and popular than *Kabuki*, is in the ultimate sense more significant. *Kabuki* shows traditional Japan at play; *Nô* reveals the Japanese mind at work.

The word *Kabuki* is rendered in writing by three *kanji*, or Chinese characters, which, translated into English, mean song-dance-skill. With characteristic brevity and aplomb the name gives the basic elements of an art form that is today perhaps the oldest medium of dramatic expression popularly supported and traditionally performed. This art form has a long and fascinating history going back to the mythological rise of Japanese culture. The theater was born in Japan when the sulky sun goddess, Amaterasu, was wooed from her earth-darkening concealment in a cave by the laughter of the gods at the spectacle of the rival goddess, Uzume, performing a celestial strip-tease outside Amaterasu's retreat. From this mythical origin of *Kabuki* and all Japanese drama, Bowers brings us to historical times, when the substance of the traditional folk and court dance-dramas went into the making of the lyric dramatic form we now call *Nô*. To musical story-telling and some adapted puppet-show techniques, add the impetus of a renowned temple dancer named O-Kuni, and you have a fair picture of the diverse cultural currents at work in *Kabuki*.

In addition to his thorough treatment of the history and aesthetics of *Kabuki*, the author discusses the new directions the Japanese theater has taken since the Meiji Restoration of 1867. He believes that, given the forces at play, the classical theater will fade with the passing of time. Moreover, it is his opinion that unless classical drama is subsidized and thereby rescued from oblivion, left-wing "people's" drama will eclipse the older traditional forms; and he notes that Moscow-trained artists of great ability are at the helm of the modern theater movement in Japan.

"Japanese Theater," though it is rich in material gleaned from Western and Japanese sources, cannot be put in the category of scholarly works. Whether by Mr. Bowers's intent or at the behest of the publishers, there is an almost complete lack of scholarly or critical apparatus. To the scholar, therefore, the book will be frustrating for its lack of footnotes and bibliography. For the interested non-specialist there will arise the problem of the many romanized Japanese names and terms, which, although necessary, frequently impede the reader's progress. There is neither a guide to pronunciation nor a helpful glossary of Japanese theatrical terms. An index, however thorough, is hardly suf-

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ficient for that purpose. The many photographs, gathered from Japanese sources and the files of the United States Signal Corps, satisfactorily illustrate the text; the line drawings—one looks in vain for some *ukioye* prints of the *Kabuki*—are largely irrelevant.

However, if the reader is able to disregard such editorial faults, he will be rewarded by a delicious glimpse of a strange and vast new world of theater art. And Mr. Bowers's book, despite the limitation noted above, is still the most comprehensive volume on the Japanese theater written in the last twenty-five years. EMERSON R. HARRIS

Novel of Florence

THE NAKED STREETS. By Vasco Pratolini. A. A. Wyn. $3.

PRATOLINI'S tranquil, loving treatment of the *piccola gente* of his home town, Florence, has brought him a world-wide audience of discriminating readers. Here is a talent at once fresh and mature which has so little conscious theatricality that the author can convince even the skeptical of the true state of the things he talks about.

No one looking for an exotic foreign novel full of the juicy scenes which, were they not well written, would be banned as pornographic need open Pratolini's books. They are discursive, occasionally profound, and always, as I said above, loving—that is their main quality.

When last a novel by Pratolini was reviewed in these pages (December 15, 1951), the book was described as something less than the author at his best, for "A Hero of Our Time" was a book of hate. It was full of the passionate conviction that marks all of Pratolini's work, but somehow it had a forced, strained quality happily absent from the current more characteristic work.

"The Naked Streets" is a beautiful book—the characters finely limned, the atmosphere exact, the development of the threads of story as inevitable as the course of individual life itself. The Italian title, "Il Quartiere," sets the tone for the whole: the novel is the story of a group of young men and women who live in the Santa Croce quarter of Florence and come to maturity in one another's company. Because these are working-class young people, they show little of the callow adolescent quality we have come to expect in novels dealing with this age group. These are the boys and girls who must start out in their mid-teens to add their share to the family budget, usually by being apprenticed to the same factory or laundry or foundry that employs their fathers and older brothers. They marry young, are beholden to no one, and live on the hope that their future will be a little less economically grim and intellectually confined than that of their elders.

But Pratolini's working-class people are not all upstanding characters. The author has brought from his own youth a fresh tone to proletarian writing: his workers' sons talk and behave and dream as the human beings they are, the variety of their characterization completely removing them from the stock-figure category. (The only American novelist who, for my money, knows to the same degree what he is talking about is James Farrell and for much the same reasons—authentic identification with the subject, an infallible ear, and a loving but unsentimental heart.) Pratolini tells us what we have known all along but what the spate of self-consciously proletarian novels of the thirties helped us to overlook, that in all strata there are those without backbone, easily seduced by a promise of ease; there are others whose need to "belong" causes them to mount the band-wagon of any 'ism handy; and there are those who are poised, reflective, mature, capable of achieving real stature within and beyond, but never *in spite of* their own environment.

"The Naked Streets," like Pratolini's great "Tale of Poor Lovers," is a modest, honest book which for anyone interested in the Europe of today tells more about the character of the vast urban populations than many abstruse tomes or statistical tables. On more than one count this is a book well worth reading

FRANCES KEENE

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE central character of "The Deep Blue Sea" (Morosco Theater) is a woman who at forty has acted out that impulse toward renewal and redress which is common to human beings midway in the path of life. She has fallen in love and gone to live with a young man who represents for her the fulness and beauty of life which she feels she has missed, first as the protected daughter of a professor and then as the cherished wife of a distinguished lawyer. As the play opens, in a dingy furnished flat in the Northwest of London, she

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has attempted suicide in a final disillusionment with love and life. The immediate provocation is the fact that her young man has forgotten her birthday, but the real reason is that she has demanded the impossible of both love and life.

At least this is the way I understand Terence Rattigan's play, and perhaps that is why I found it more satisfactory than those reviewers who saw it mainly as the story of a middle-aged woman who has abandoned a devoted and suitable husband because of a physical infatuation with a young man. These reviewers, moreover, described the young man in the case as a "bounder," incapable of love. The term, it seems to me, could hardly be less relevant. The young man, Freddie Page, is to be sure endowed with the thoughtlessness as well as the vitality of youth; he is assuredly incapable of the love which Hester Collyer demands; yet it is made clear that he does love her after his fashion. He is characteristically absorbed in his own activities, but they do not include women, and he is genuinely bewildered by Hester's behavior.

Freddie decides to leave when he finds out about the attempt at suicide. The way of a bounder perhaps; but it struck me as the inevitable and healthy reaction of a young man, particularly of a young man who symbolizes as he does here the "life force." Hester sees that the decision is right for her as well as for him, but she summons the strength to accept it only after she is forced to confront reality and herself, for the moment at least, by the "doctor" who lives upstairs and who is called in to administer first aid. In the end she not only lets Freddie go without protest; she also rejects the easy solution of going back to her husband. She has become at last a person in her own right, willing to assume the responsibility for her newfound self.

"The Deep Blue Sea" is an adult play and an interesting one. The situation it presents is universal as well as unique, and its characters are not eccentric. It smacks a bit, nevertheless, of the Freudian case history, partly, I think, because writers are still self-conscious in their use of Freud's findings and partly because Terence Rattigan is more gifted as playwright than as writer.

The role of Hester Collyer is difficult, if only because the representation, long drawn out, of a soul in torment is likely to become monotonous. Margaret Sullavan overcomes this hazard by an intelligent, subtle, and controlled performance that holds one's interest and sympathy to the end. Even her "conversion" to self-respect and recognition is convincing, foreshortened though it must be within the limits of a play.

The supporting cast is excellent. James Hanley's Freddie Page is wonderfully realized both as character and as symbol. It seemed to me that the point of the play would have been as well or better made if the husband had been less stodgy, but Alan Webb does full justice to the part as given. Herbert Berghof makes likely the only unlikely character in the play—the doctor; and John Merivale's turn as the crass "realist" who knows all about life and love and is willing to share his knowledge is very funny.

Charles Elson's set of the dingy flat is right in every detail, even to the soiled upholstery on the nondescript chairs.

Moss Hart's "The Climate of Eden" (Martin Beck Theater) is based on a novel by Edgar Mittelholzer called "Shadows Move Among Them," and it posits a society—the household of a missionary in British Guiana—in which the Christian virtues and primitive attitudes and beliefs have been combined in a curious and charming and amusing amalgam. In this household it is assumed that children are a little mad and must be allowed to act out their fantasies if they are to become mature as adults. Sex is no evil, and the older daughter has taken a lover at sixteen. The missionary, who is a quiet fanatic, preaches that the Kingdom of God is on earth and that happiness is a Christian duty.

To this household comes a psychotic young man from the world outside who has been prevented from killing his wife only because she has committed suicide. The daughter falls in love with him, and by what amounts to analysis he is cured and made whole. Not a very likely story but a pleasant fantasy full of relevant and amusing commentary on the world as it is.

The young man, as played by Lee Montague, is not very sympathetic, but he serves as foil to a group of delightful characters. The star of the piece is the

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"precocious fourteen-year-old" daughter Olivia, played with great effectiveness by Penelope Munday, but the rest of the cast could hardly be better, particularly John Cromwell as the missionary, Isobel Elsom as his wife, Rosemary Harris as the older daughter, and Ken Walker as the kid brother who somehow manages to simulate, from beginning to end, a state of intense excitement as catching as it is convincing.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"THE PROMOTER" is a good example of an efficient but not very stimulating comedy that gets seen and liked because the critics admire it. The plot is an impudent reworking of the Horatio Alger type of picaresque story, in which an ordinary jerk, eager to help everyone, manages to do it for a fat profit. The idea of a twenty-dollar-a-week solicitor's "clark" moving through the complications and coincidences of a fairly lightweight comedy until he winds up rich, mayor of the city, and favored by all the girls reminds you, in its neatness, of the early Sturges satires. But where the Sturges films moved easily and deftly from one situation to another and took a great delight in making everyone look like a chump with the wild dream of success motoring him through slapstick, "The Promoter" is definitely stiffened by a stodgy novelistic style and made sort of dull by its insistence on "normalcy." One of the hero's money-making activities has to do with collecting rents and a "rake-off" on each collection. The episode is recorded in a staccato series of documentary shots which gives you the bare facts and a glimpse of urban ugliness, but there is no zany movement through the shops, streets, and around the chimney pots in search of fun. When slapstick is employed it is done with a dry crotchetiness, and dropped so quickly that you feel the director was embarrassed about having a donkey go berserk in the market place with the players being buried in lettuce, cabbage, and carrots.

Audiences find good reason for roaring with laughter through Alec Guinness's farces—but I keep hoping that, with his knack for making an ordinary fellow bizarre, those silly little smirks, eccentrically timed expressions, and that unexpected demoniac light in his eye, he will some day fill out a role with more than virtuosity. But then I tell myself that compared to Jerry Lewis, Hope, or Skelton's pebbly characterizations, Guinness's roles are imaginatively conceived and like rocks cast in the sea.

"Park Row" is possibly aspiring to be a sort of poor man's "Citizen Kane," but this story of the street which in the late nineties was the most famous newspaper yard in the world can be put into one sentence: a two-fisted editor didn't like the policy of America's first woman journalist; so he started a rival sheet named the *Globe* and after an hour of misunderstandings they lived happily ever after. It was produced, written, and directed on less than a pursestring by the talented Sam Fuller, who made "Broken Bayonets" last year, but from the opening shot Fuller jams his entire cast of newcomers—Mary Welch, Bela Kovacs, the choleric Gene Evans—into a two-by-four room and has them juggle lines that have to do primarily with listing famous names like Greeley, and defining things like "that's thirty" and "printer's devil." As a director, Fuller tries for epic overtones in every frame. Someone offers the just-fired editor a

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chance to start a new paper, and immediately the screen goes heavy with effects while the editor munches savagely on a cigar and looks off into the distance as though he were visualizing the entire history of man's fight for a free press.

The discouraging thing about this not-unspirited work is that it is another signpost marking how far the easygoing "B" film has back-tracked in recent years —from something which opened windows and let air into the industry, to an arty business full of died-in-the-wood characters and solemn actors who weigh down the floor with their theatricality. With its absence of fluidity—two huge faces usually dominate the screen—and a cast that is all wrong, the only virtue the movie has is a certain brazen rashness.

It's hard for me to dislike an Alan Ladd picture, but "Thunder in the East" is one of the slowest, most gruesome distortions of Asian existence since "Lost Horizon." Since Ladd has to his credit such films as "This Gun for Hire," "The Blue Dahlia," and "Background to Danger," nothing shall be said about the new effort beyond the fact that Deborah Kerr finally manages to turn in a half-human, fairly warm performance and Charles Boyer plays a Nehru type in a way that makes you painfully conscious of his wig, make-up, and stagy personality.

"O. Henry's Full House" offers four meager, tired short stories filled with tenderness for the hapless, and worked out by a few dozen proficient but overconfident artists. Each vignette is introduced by a short talk by John Steinbeck, and as evidence of the movie's high-powered technique, he uses an unctuous bass voice dubbed in by Ward Bond. Of the various rolling stones that bound through the movie, David Wayne is pretty interesting to watch, and Gregory Ratoff shows that he is a subordinate player who can handle any line thrown his way.

CONTRIBUTORS

OSCAR HANDLIN is the author of "This Was America" and "The Uprooted."

EMERSON R. HARRIS, a former staff writer and performer for the Armed Services Network, Japan, is a member of the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Pennsylvania.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE of the year's outstanding events is the first of three groups of Columbia recordings of the 1951 Perpignan Festival, with performances of works by Mozart. One record offers the exquisite Symphony K.201 and "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"; another the Sinfonia Concertante K.364 for violin and viola, whose wonderful Andante movement still seems to me unmatched by the fast movements; another the beautiful Violin Concerto K.219; another the Divertimento K. 251 for oboe, horns, and strings, with a lovely Andantino movement and some other engaging movements and passages, and the fine Quartet K.370 for oboe and strings. Casals participates in all but the last of these, as conductor of the orchestra; and his powerful inflection creates an exciting life in the orchestral parts which is one of the things that makes these performances outstanding. Another is the fine playing of the soloists—Isaac Stern and William Primrose in the Sinfonia Concertante, Erica Morini in the Violin Concerto, Marcel Tabuteau in the Divertimento. And Tabuteau, Stern, Primrose, and Paul Tortelier give a beautiful performance of the Oboe Quartet. Having said this I feel I should mention two details which I wondered at: the inconsistency in Morini's treatment of appogiaturas; and Tabuteau's ignoring of the indication for a cadenza in the slow movement of the Oboe Quartet.

The performances are well reproduced this time—except that in the Divertimento, which is all crowded onto one record side, the violins become gritty near the center. On the other hand the records with the Sinfonia Concertante and the Violin Concerto have a considerable amount of blank space which makes these LP versions more expensive than previous 78s. And finally: for those who buy the complete set the box offers a bonus record with an arrangement of a slow movement of a Haydn piano sonata played by Casals and Eugene Istomin, and with strange noises that one finally realizes are Casals's grunts as he plays.

The two Bach cantatas issued by the Bach Guild on Vanguard records—No. 31, the Easter Cantata "Der Himmel lacht" (with seven Easter chorales), and No. 63, the Christmas Cantata "Christen, ätzet diesen Tag"—are for the most part uninteresting to my ears. In No. 31 the singing of Anny Felbermayer, soprano, is exquisite, and there is good singing by Waldemar Kmentt, tenor, and Walter Berry, bass, but the women of the Vienna Akademiechor sound poor in the high range of the opening chorus. Prohaska conducts the Vienna Chamber Orchestra. In No. 63 Margit Opawsky, soprano, sings with occasional shrillness and strain, but the other soloists—Hilde Rossl-Majdan, alto, Waldemar Kmentt, and Harald Hermann, bass—are good. Michael Gielen conducts the Vienna Kammerchor and State Opera Orchestra.

On the other hand the Magnificat in D of Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach issued by the Bach Guild has a number of impressive fast movements (e. g., the opening *Magnificat anima* and the *Deposuit potentes*) and beautiful and touching slow movements (e. g., the *Quia respexit*, the *Et misericordia ejus*, the *Suscepit Israel*). Hilde Rossl-Majdan does the most beautiful singing in this work, and there is good singing also by Dorothea Siebert, soprano (though

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with some strain in the taxing *Quia respexit*), Waldemar Kmentt, and Hans Braun, bass. Prohaska conducts the Vienna Akademiechor and State Opera Orchestra. On the fourth side of the two records is the Steinberg arrangement of Bach's K. P. E. Bach's Concerto in D that Koussevitzky used to play, with its engaging fast movements and wonderfully beautiful and deeply affecting slow movement. The pace of the first movement is a little over-deliberate; otherwise Prohaska's performance with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra is excellent.

I have played again on wide-range equipment some of the records I played on a limited-range phonograph in the country last summer, and have found that the Quartetto Italiano sounds a little veiled and edged in Mozart's Clarinet Quintet (London); that the Boyd Neel performances of Handel's Concerti Grossi Opus 6 Nos. 9 and 10 (London) sound veiled; that the Gieseking performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 4 (Columbia) requires reduction of bass and sounds a little sharp with adequate treble; that the Gieseking performance of Mozart's Concerto K.488 (Columbia) sounds strident near the end, with a hash in addition if the stylus isn't new; that the Schnabel performances of Mozart's Concertos K.466 and 491 (HMV) require stepping up of bass and treble, and that K.491 then has a pronounced surface hiss and the finale of K.466 is gritty; that the Martinon performances of Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" and "Beatrice and Benedict" Overtures (Urania), with treble stepped up for adequate brightness, have a surface hiss. In addition I have compared the Cahuzac performance of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto (Haydn Society) with the older Kell performance (Decca), and found that the Kell is more animated, more beautiful in tone, and more sensitive in phrasing, but its recorded sound needs stepping up of treble and is unclean at the end.

Having waited until now to hear the Columbia record with dubbings of the beautiful pre-war performances of Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1 and Mozart's K.218 by Szigeti with the London Philharmonic under Beecham, I have found that the Prokofiev needs stepping up of treble which makes the surface audible, and that the Mozart needs drastic reduction of bass and is very noisy.

Accident presented me with an opportunity recently to hear the H. H. Scott power amplifier, which Mr. C. G. Burke's jury of experts judged to be equal in tonal quality with the Brook, the McIntosh, the Leak, and the Bell, and which Mr. Burke chose for his best phonograph regardless of cost because it had an equalization system that some of the others lacked. In side-by-side comparison with a privately made amplifier which, using the same pickup, recording, and speaker, produced sound that was clear and agreeable, the Scott produced sound that was unpleasantly coarse and strident; and a second Scott unit produced sound that was only slightly less so.

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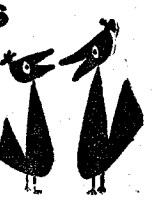

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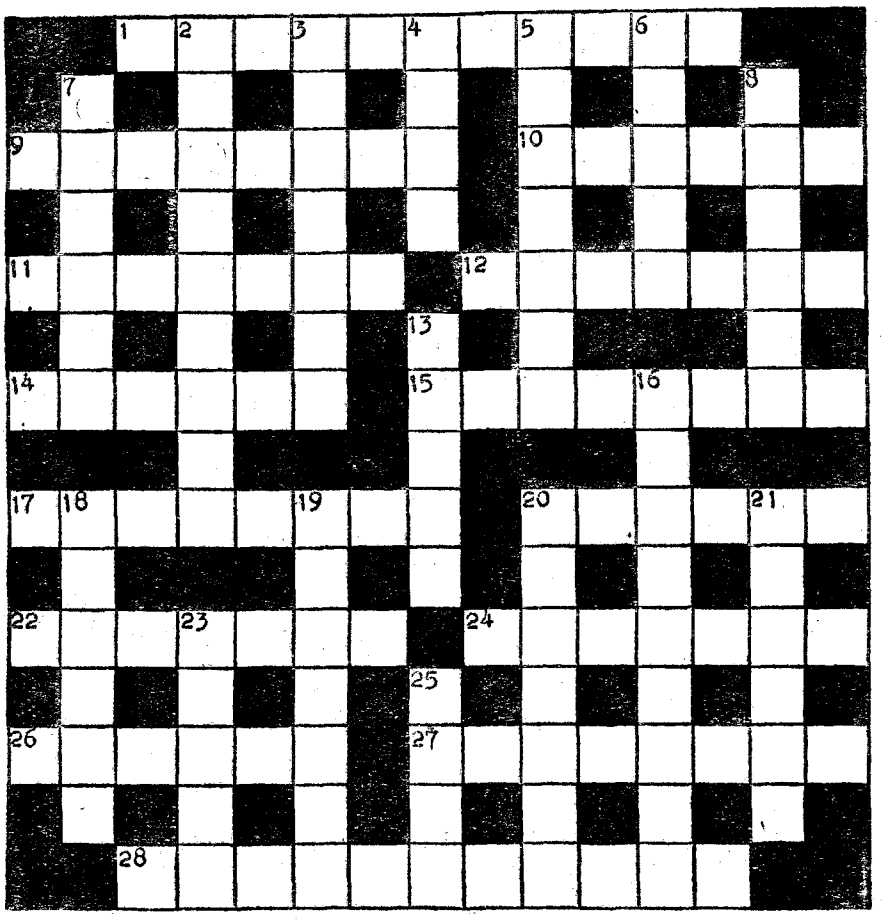

ACROSS

1 Infant prodigy? It's not surprising! (5, 6)
9 Lamb curing directions given by the mother of the Gracchi? (8)
10 See 21 down.
11 Would someone like Burbank be such a fraud? (7)
12 Bank controller? One liar is exposed, at any rate! (7)
14 Against poetry, by the sound of it. (6)
15 and 7 down. Block series? (Some G. I.'s never did get over it!) (8, 6)
17 One's carriage might imply a painful expression in bleak surroundings. (8)
20 It's top has broken, but the chemist still uses it. (6)
22 To study an examination might cause dispute. (7)
24 In the order of a crusade, perhaps. (7)
26 A psalm can be a life-saver at times. (6)
27 With an idée fixe. (8)
28 What Avis does, if this lad annoys her? (5, 3, 3,)

DOWN

2 Declaration that has an anagram of its name. (9)
3 One of these could be leaner, in a loose sort of way. (7)
4 Ineffectual for several days, by the sound of it. (4)
5 Nymphs one is likely to find in reeds. (7)
6 This bird goes a birdie one better. (5)
7 See 15 across.
8 Thoreau said his life was like one on the beach. (6)
13 and 25. Change come by honestly, but without style. (9)
16 What the Italian loves to paint as a matter of course. (9)
18 Sort of call, as around numerous spots in the Pacific. (6)
19 A bag of lettuce for the soldier? (7)
20 Your suit might be in more ways than one. (7)
21 and 10 across. Demands what is due, as a political issue. (6, 6)
23 The condition of 21 is changed, in a sense. (5)
25 See 13 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 490

ACROSS:—1 and 10 LET IT STAND; 4 LOINCLOTH; 9 ALARMISTS; 11 UNTENABLE; 12 ILION; 13 STREETCARS; 17 OVERSHOOTS; 21 ALDER; 22 and 14 LYONNAISE POTATOES; 23 OFTEN; 24 ALABASTER; 25 SEA NETTLE; 26 ERROR.

DOWN:—1 LEAGUE; 2 TRAITS; 4 LAST BUT NOT LEAST; 5 and 3 IT'S NEVER TOO LATE TO MEND; 6 CASUISTS; 7 OCARINAS; 8 HEDONIST; 15 VENDETTA; 16 ASTRINGE; 18 ENRAGE; 19 LITTER; 20 TERROR.

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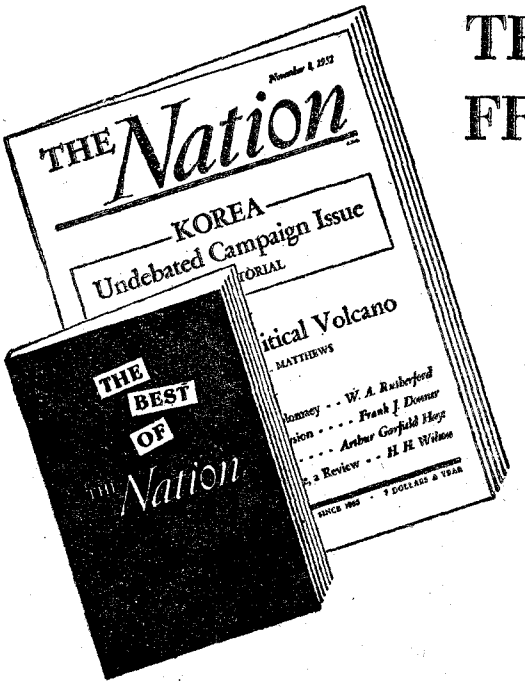

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